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MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

SUBJECT: Dirksen and Douglas Amendments to the
Mutual Security Act of 1954.

This memorandum is for information only.

1. You will recall that the Mutual Security bill, as passed by the Senate, contained both the Dirksen and Douglas amendments relating to the encouragement of the hopes and aspirations of peoples "enslaved by communism." The Dirksen amendment authorized the appropriation of \$5,000,000 to be used "through programs of information, relief, exchange of persons, education, resettlement and grants to private non-profit organizations." The Douglas amendment authorized the appropriation of \$20,000,000 without specifying the types of programs.

2. Both of these amendments were stricken in Conference, and the bill which has now passed the House and the Senate and has been sent to the President for signature contains no special authorization of funds for this purpose. It does, however, contain the following new sub-section which relates to the use of funds already available to the President under the Kersten amendment:

"(c) It is the purpose of this Act to advance the cause of freedom. The Congress joins with the President of the United States in proclaiming the hope that the peoples who have been subjected to the captivity of communist despotism shall again enjoy the right of self-determination within a framework which will sustain the peace; that they shall again have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and that sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to them, all in accordance with the pledge of the Atlantic Charter. Funds available under this section may be used for programs of information, relief, exchange

of persons, education, and resettlement, to encourage the hopes and aspirations of peoples who have been enslaved by communism."

3. The first sentence of this sub-section was taken verbatim from a statement of policy which the President had proposed to the Congress in 1953. The second sentence follows somewhat the pattern of the Dirksen amendment, except that the reference to "grants to private non-profit organizations" has been eliminated. I am informed that this deletion was intentional. Legislative history has therefore been established which would preclude, or at least discourage, the use of Kersten amendment funds for that purpose. The net result, insofar as the possible use of Mutual Security funds for grants to private organizations is concerned, is that everyone would have been better off if the Dirksen and Douglas amendments had never been proposed.

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